DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 303 874 EA 020 679

AUTHOR Weninger, Terence A.
TITLE Twenty Years of Dissatisfaction: Policy Change as a Function of Dissatisfaction.
PUB DATE Apr 88
NOTE 38p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 5-9, 1988).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Board of Education Policy; Board of Education Role; Boards of Education; Change Agents; *Citizen Participation; *Community Attitudes; Educational Change; Elementary Secondary Education; *Governance; Local Issues; *Policy Formation; *Politics of Education; Public Schools; Voting
IDENTIFIERS *Scottsdale Unified School District AZ

ABSTRACT

This historiographical case study of the Scottsdale School District in Arizona examined the degree to which school governance was democratic and tested the proposition that policy change at the district level occurs in response to community demands as evidenced by policymakers' Chapter 2 addresses three categories of administrative discipline policies were responsive to citizen demands was traced. The dissatisfaction theory, which holds that citizen discontent leads to episodic change as a system responds to such disgruntlement, provided the theoretical framework. The turning point election period (TPEP) indicators, such as defeated incumbents and voter turnout, reveal citizen dissatisfaction and were recorded for the years 1896 to 1986. Findings demonstrated the validity of the dissatisfaction theory. School governance is a democratic process contingent on voter satisfaction with a nonelitist responsive school board. (JAM) forms (including referral, log, and regulations), plus a questionnaire and a self-evaluative form. (SI)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED303874

"Twenty Years of Dissatisfaction: Policy Change as a Function of Dissatisfaction"

by

TERENCE A. WENINGER

for presentation to the

1988 AERA, New Orleans, LA

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

T A. Weninger

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC).

EA 020 679

This study, an historical case study of the Scottsdale School District in Arizona, examined the degree to which school governance was democratic. The dissatisfaction theory of democracy provided the theoretical framework. The turning point election period indicators were traced for the years 1896 to 1986.

THE NATURE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Education in America has long been considered a public good. While students are the direct beneficiaries of the system, society benefits as well. The questions of who governs and whether the process is democratic are of concern to all.

This study is a political history of a school district in which the key question is: Over time were district policies responsive to citizen demands? The degree to which a government is responsive to the preferences of the citizens in control is central to whether a true democracy exists. As Eulau and Prewitt have stated: "For in democracy, the degree to which the governors are responsive to the preferences of the governed is the sina qua non of whether democracy in fact exists" (Tucker, Zeigler, 1980, p.5). If responsiveness is lacking a democracy does not exist, independent of other characteristics of the system.

This study has been guided by the dissatisfaction theory of democracy first proposed by Key (1955), elaborated by Schattschneider (1960) and applied to school governance by Lutz and Iannaccone (1978). The dissatisfaction theory rests on the recognition of the ". . . political myth of regular widespread participation in self-government is unrealistic and unsupported

by empirical evidence in any representative or democratic society in which we have data from Athens to date" (Lutz, Iannaccone, 1978, p.130). Central to the dissatisfaction theory is that citizen dissatisfaction with the political system leads to episodic change. Episodic change being ". . . a series of events in a democratic political process that leads to responsiveness within public education (Lutz, Iannaccone, 1978, p.101). This series of events begins when citizens become sufficiently dissatisfied with school policy to elect new board members who employ a new superintendent to implement changed policies.

Work by others has uncovered a set of forces in the interplay of citizen demands and system response. Iannaccone (1983) calls the periods of most turbulence "turning point election periods" (TPEPs). For him TPEPs are "the chief mechanism for managing tension in the American political system" (p.106). The TPEP has five general stages: rising voter discontent; a triggering election; realignment of the policy making sub-system; articulation of a new policy mandate; and a final test election.

Rising voter discontent is usually preceded by shifts in the socioeconomic and demographic composition of the school district some years before discontent is manifested in voting behavior (Kirkendall, 1966). Such shifts are thought to produce changes in expectations for schools. The school board may at

its peril ignore or underestimate these changes and not make any of the program adjustments demanded. The gap between the board-superintendent actions and community demands may widen with the school system being seen as non-responsive. Voter discontent is measured by changes in the ratio of votes cast for and against incumbent board members and in increases in the number of challengers running against incumbents. A triggering election is the first election in which one or more incumbent board members are defeated.

The triggering election sets in motion significant conflict within the policy sub-system. Polarization of new members and incumbents often occurs with the superintendent generally aligning with the older board factions. While the old board often behaved as an elite council, the new board resembles an arena council. Old board members and the superintendent tend to defend old programs becoming criticized for rigidity (Iannaccone and Lutz, 1970).

Upheaval often continues as additional incumbents are defeated in subsequent elections. The process usually results in the firing of the superintendent as part of the third stage, the realignment of the policy making sub-system. The new board members become more comfortable among themselves and with "their" superintendent, leading to the fourth stage.

In the fourth stage, the new board and superintendent begin to develop a new policy mandate (Danis, 1981). The process may

take a long time and may be continuous. Rapid demographic change can make articulation of a clear policy mandate impossible for a time, resulting in repeated superintendent turnover until clear direction is articulated. When a new policy mandate is developed it is communicated to the public in many ways: policy statements, personnel selection, revision of regulations, school program changes, and budgetary allocations. The public is then able to have before it a definition of the policy issues and a clarification of the values of the changed board and new superintendent.

The final stage of a TPEP is a test election where voters may support the board (and superintendent), reject both, or stay at home. After a successful test election, the new policies, policy makers and programs become increasingly secure in their political support. Political quiescence and policy incrementalism return, until voter discontent arises, bringing in a new TPEP (Iannaccone, 1983; Criswell and Mitchell, 1980).

Insert Figure 1 about here

The Episodic Change Model, Figure 1, graphically shows the predicted sequence of events outlined by the dissatisfaction theory. The central focus of the study was an examination of the "responsiveness linkage", the link between Box C (political mandate) and Box G (policy re-orientation). The similarity

between political mandate and policy re-orientation being the operational definition of responsiveness. This study tested the proposition that policy change occurs after a TPEP in response to community demands.

SETTING AND METHODS

Scottsdale, Arizona was founded in 1894 to serve winter visitors and citrus farmers. By 1951 the population had grown to only 2,000. Following introduction of electronics manufacturing and large financial service organizations, Scottsdale grew to over 100,000 residents by 1983. Currently the city is a major suburb of Phoenix.

The Scottsdale Unified School District has had a parallel cycle of growth from one school in 1896 to 22 in 1987 of which six are high schools.

Traditional field study methods were used in the study. Twelve major categories of information were gathered: enrollment data from 1904 to 1986 with projections to 1991; assessed valuation data from 1922 to 1986; school board election data which included numbers of votes for each candidate in every recorded school board election; a history of all superintendents and acting superintendents with their terms of office; campaign rhetoric for each election by candidate; school board policy documents to determine policy re-orientation; information from knowledgeable community informants; school board bond and budget override election information; histories of the community and school district; characteristics of school board policy debate; boards of trustees and their terms of office; and other collaborating information found in the Arizona Government Public

Records Office.

Multiple sources of information were used to get as complete a picture as possible. Enrollment information came from several sources. Dick (1944) provided data from 1904 to 1943. Various school board reports and documents, and the Scottsdale Progress provided the enrollments to 1986 and projections to 1991. Assessed valuations were obtained for 1922 to 1986 from several sources. Maricopa County Assessors Office and school board minutes provided most of the information, but, a gap in this data from 1932 to 1936 remained. School board election data came from minutes, the Scottsdale Progress, Phoenix Gazette, Tempe Daily News and Dick (1944). Bond and budget override election information came from the Scottsdale Progress. School board minutes reports in the Scottsdale Progress and Dick (1944) were used to compile information on superintendents and acting superintendents.

Campaign rhetoric was found in the Scottsdale Progress. Reports and advertisements on school board election campaigns were content analyzed. Policy documents for this study were available from the school board office. An interview with the immediate past superintendent was particularly helpful. As the superintendent who guided the policy re-orientation, he was able to provide insights not available from others.

Knowledgeable community informants were interviewed. In addition to being primary sources of information, they verified

data from other sources.

The history of the school district and the community was obtained from Dick (1944), McElfresh (1984), community informants, and written documents. School board minutes provided a record of official decisions. The Scottsdale Progress provided the content of debates on issues.

FINDINGS

The data indicates two turning point election periods, the first from 1896 to 1943 and the second from 1943 to 1986. Figures 2 and 3 show the time periods coincident with each stage.

Insert Figures 2 and 3 about here

The dissatisfaction theory predicts that defeats of incumbent school board members cluster in periods in which citizens rise up to express their dissatisfaction with a non-responsive system. Rising voter discontent is usually preceded by changes in the socioeconomic and demographic composition of the school district. A change in the ratio of assessed value to average daily attendance has been used as a proxy for demographic shifts. Figures 4 and 5 show these shifts by TPEP.

Insert Figures 4 and 5 about here

During TPEP I no incumbent was returned to office during the three successive elections 1937, 1938 and 1939, resulting in a complete political realignment, the first to occur in the District. During TPEP II no incumbent was returned to office

from 1960 to 1974 with continued periodic incumbent defeat until 1980. In both instances demographic changes preceded, corresponding to a presumed time of rising voter discontent. The remainder of this paper will examine the policy shifts associated with TPEP II.

A second proposition of the dissatisfaction theory is that boards will behave as elite councils in periods of quiet and arena councils during realignment. The data support the proposition. During the period designated as TPEP II the first recorded split vote was April 10, 1953. Thereafter only five split votes were recorded in the next 13 years. However from 1966 until the late 1970s arena council behavior prevailed. For example, on February 14, 1971 seven issues were decided on 3-2 votes. In May, 1971 10 issues were so decided. The Scottsdale Progress asserted editorially that the 3-2 vote had become a tradition of the 1970s.

A review of board policy debates during the period 1958 to 1983 reveals that four major policy areas were particularly contentious. The first of these was to accept federal aid. Initially the board refused to consider accepting it. The issue surfaced in 1958 during a time of rapidly increasing enrollments and slower growing tax capacity. Many tax payers sought relief from growing tax levies. The board was not willing to accept federal aid on ideological grounds, fearing loss of local control. Between 1958 and 1963 challengers who favored

accepting federal aid defeated incumbents, producing a complete reversal in district policy on the issue.

Another contentious issue, debated for over 15 years, was school organization. Like the federal aid debate, this one was prompted by rapid increases in student enrollments. This issue stayed on the board agenda from 1960 to 1977 as the community debated how to house the increasing numbers of students and how to offer new programs. Abandoning the traditional K-8 school configuration in favor of a middle school configuration became contending policy choices. While feelings were strong, no clear citizen mandate merged. In one sequence the board rejected an administrative grade configuration proposal, decided on its own configuration and then rescinded that decision in response to public pressure. The conclusion to this sequence was a 3-1 vote to retain the traditional configuration. It was not until 1977 that four new persons became board members and established a policy favoring the middle school organization.

Two other issues exemplified the inconsistent and acrimonious policy debate of the period. First was an issue of teaching controversial topics and second was a decision to close a high school.

Early in the 1970s the board became increasingly concerned about what was being taught. The board instituted a policy requiring board approval of all materials used in the district. After homosexuals had been invited to speak to an elective

sociology course the board enacted further restrictive policies. Additional restrictive policies caused teachers to claim invasion of academic freedom. The board once again changed its policy. The controversy extended for six years.

The decision to close Scottsdale High School was characterized by community informants as the most controversial decision made by the school board. Discussions of school closures began as early as 1972. Several elementary schools were closed in the late 1970s and early 1980s. However the suggestion of closing a high school lay dormant until February 1981, when the administration submitted a plan to the board for school closures and boundary changes. The plan exempted all high schools. The board rejected it. The discussion turned to closure of Scottsdale High School. Lobby groups formed to prevent the school from being closed. A subsequent study indicated that Scottsdale High School was not the highest cost per pupil high school in the District, although the decreasing enrollment there indicated higher costs in the future. Attention then turned to Arcadia High School which, because of its small size was the highest per pupil cost high school in the District. Arcadia parents came out in full force. Over 1,000 parents and students attended a board meeting to support their school. The public discussion was volatile. Influential Arcada parents threatened to secede from the district. State legislators who represented the neighborhood hinted at

withdrawing support for any legislative initiative that might benefit the City of Scottsdale. On November 30, 1982 the board voted 3-2 "to delay the decision to close Arcadia until January 18, 1983 in order for the community to provide added information" (Scottsdale Progress, December 1, 1982). Public debate continued. The Scottsdale Progress editorially supported keeping all the high schools open. The superintendent argued that keeping open high cost schools was unfair to other schools. Arcadia parents argued that the projected enrollment decline of Scottsdale High School and the higher value of the property it occupied made it a better choice. On January 18, 1983 the board voted 3-2 to close Scottsdale High School. The same three board members favoring delay in the vote to close Arcadia High School, voted to close Scottsdale High School. Over 1,200 people were in attendance at that January board meeting.

Other characteristics of citizen discontent during TPEP II were evident. The Minar and Thorsted indices of conflict showed dramatic rises. The average Thorsted Index (TCI) rose from 4 in the period 1943 to 1959 to 83 during the period 1960 to 1986. The Minar Conflict Index (MCI) rose from an average value of 32 to 56 for the same periods.

Bond and budget override elections showed similar patterns of discontent. From 1909 to 1956 voters approved all nine bond and budget override requests. From 1957 to 1966, 12 of 16 were approved. However from 1967 to 1986 eight of nine were

defeated.

From 1943 to 1961, three superintendents were employed by the district. Beginning with the termination in 1961 of the last of the three, the district had 12 superintendents or acting superintendents until 1986, one of whom served an extraordinarily long term of eight years.

Thus from about 1960 until about 1985 the Scottsdale Unified School District had great turnover of superintendents and school board members, acrimonious debates on policy issues, inconsistent policy directions and we believe, very discontented citizens. By 1985 or so we will argue that the policy realignment period had come to a close.

A key proposition of dissatisfaction theory is that policy realignments produce new policy mandates. In this case, a clear link between the two can be shown.

In June 1983 a newly elected board majority approved four district goals by unanimous vote. The board had never before had a formal goals statement. These goals were to have:

1. An instructional program based on expectations of excellence that ensures all students will master competencies required for a successful life;
2. A system of recognition and reward that acknowledges excellence in employee performance;
3. A long range plan for resource use;
4. A system that ensures effective participation by citizens

and staff in evaluation and planning.

The goals are important for two reasons. The first, that they become official policy for the first time in district history. The second, and theoretically most important, that each one can be traced to platforms of board candidates as early as 1960.

Nineteen hundred and sixty is asserted to be the year of the triggering election. A winning candidate campaigned for long range planning, increased teacher performance and salaries and an improved curriculum.

As early as 1967 a Scottsdale Progress editorial asserted that "the board bungles again, the public needs to be included in the decision making process, board meetings should be open and the full board agenda disclosed in advance" (April 7, 1967).

During the period 1960-1982 the same issues surfaced and resurfaced. It was not until the election of 1982 that the full board was composed of persons who favored higher expectations for students and teachers, increased citizen involvement and long range planning. Although it had taken about 25 years, a clear policy mandate was set.

Following adoption of the goals, the board directed the new superintendent to develop plans for implementation. The process, dubbed Citizens for Effective Schools, involved almost 1,000 citizens and the full complement of administrative staff. The goal was "to identify community priorities for public

education in the district and to develop a strategic plan which would guide the board and the administration in setting policy and in making decisions" (CES Report, P I.1).

After extensive study, the Citizens Committee identified 96 key issues, of which 12 were deemed of highest priority. The board directed the administrative staff to develop action plans for resolving the highest priority issues. By late 1985 a master plan for facility use had been developed by a 60 person citizens committee and adopted unanimously by the board. In addition, standards of student and staff performance had been adopted and monitoring and reporting systems were in place. In February, 1986 citizens approved over $55 million in bond and budget override taxes.

Taken together the support of propositions drawn from dissatisfaction theory suggests the district has been governed in a responsive manner. However, the conclusion must be tested against a final community act of affirmation. Although the evidence is not complete (and might not be until the school board election of 1988) there are strong indications of an impending period of quiescence. The evidence from the February 1986 bond and override election is persuasive. The TCI and MCI measures for the school board election of November, 1986 fell to 14 and 24, respectively and the number of challengers per board position fell to 1.3. The TCI and MCI had recorded such low values on only one previous occasion in 1949. Also, the number

of challengers per board position had not fallen to that level since 1956. Additional supporting evidence came from several knowledgeable community informants who stated that the district entered a period of quiet following the February, 1986 election. The city editor and the education reporter for the Progress, three former superintendents, and the Mayor of Scottsdale all described the February election as an expression of support by the voters of the district. The consensus among informants was that the voters had approved the new mandate.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The primary conclusion of the study is that in the Scottsdale Unified School District significant policy changes were made in response to citizen demands. Although the process of change was slow (25 years), tumultuous and marked by much personal loss, it happened. The general tenets of the dissatisfaction theory of democracy were supported by the findings.

A number of research implications emerged as well. Earlier research had assumed that the Thorsted and Minar indices were proxies for rising voter discontent and changes in community values. In this study the rise and fall of values for TCI and MCI corresponded nicely to the changes in the quality of public debate over school policy, lending support to their usefulness as proxy measures.

Danis' (1981) definition of the triggering election as that which "sets the agenda for all future debates" (p.230) stood up well. The campaign of 1960 established the agenda which was made manifest in the 1983 adoption of district goals.

The literature on dissatisfaction theory has not emphasized sufficiently the importance of taking an extended longitudinal perspective. In this study the policy development cycle was tracked over many years. Without this long term perspective, evidence could have been misleading. For example, one

superintendent was in office almost eight years. During that period the MCIs and TCIs decreased and several incumbents were reelected to the board. While these are indicative of low conflict, other indicators discounted the conclusion that the district had entered a period of quiet. Following that superintendent's departure the underlying policy conflicts reemerged and required another ten years before resolution. It can be argued that while the incumbent's skills allowed him to smooth over the conflicts, resolution was not accomplished. Researchers must guard against cutting into a TPEP at an inappropriate time and as a consequence, examining phenomena in progress. Case studies which use the dissatisfaction theory as a framework should take a long term look (perhaps as long as fifty years) and examine all indicators of the TPEP sequence including the character of the policy debate.

The dissatisfaction literature has not paid particular attention to bond elections and budget override elections as indicators of the level of conflict within a school district. In this study the results of these elections were predictable within the TPEPs. During quiescence bond and override elections were generally successful. During periods of rising voter discontent and realignment periods elections were generally unsuccessful. Future studies should pay attention to these types of elections as indicators of voter satisfaction.

The literature relating to the dissatisfaction theory dates

back to 1970. The literature and research has generally concentrated on further verification and refinement of the theory. The value of the dissatisfaction theory as a policy analysis tool has not been stressed. This study indicates a primary value is in its explanatory power of the policy development cycle. School boards and practicing administrators have a direct and readily available method to determine the relative state of harmony in the district between voter preferences and district directions.

Taken together the findings and conclusions of this study provide additional support for the proposition that school governance is a democratic process in the long run. Discontented voters, through successive opportunities to elect school board members and to decide whether or not to increase their taxes, have a sustained capacity to express their demands. In this study it was found that over a 30 year period voters expressed demands, elected many school board members who appointed and released many school superintendents, and determined the outcome of several tax elections. Through the period an articulated policy mandate was hammered out. But the process was not smooth. Directions changed, incumbents were defeated and conflict continued. However, a policy direction was developed which, in retrospect, seems to represent what voters first began to articulate in 1960. Although the process of establishing a responsive governance system was neither quick

nor elegant, it appears to have been accomplished. That is the underlying premise of the dissatisfaction theory.

REFERENCES

Bailey, F. G. (1971). Decisions by Consensus in Councils and Committees. In M. Banton (Ed.), Political Systems and the Distribution of Power. (pp. 1-20). London: The University Press.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). Qualitative Research for Education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

Criswell, L. W., & Mitchell, D. E. (1980). Episodic Instability in School District Elections. Urban Education, 15, 189-213.

Danis, R. (1981). Policy Changes in Local Governance: The Dissatisfaction Theory of Democracy. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Dick, W. W. (1944). The History of the Scottsdale School System at Scottsdale, Arizona, 1896- 1944. Unpublished master's thesis, Arizona State Teachers' College, Tempe, AZ.

Gates, P. E. & Wall C. (1986). Community Involvement Pays Off. NSBA School Board Policy Updating, 17(9).

Iannaccone, L. (1983). Community Education and Turning Point Election Periods. In D. Schoeny and L. Decker (Eds.), Community Educational and Social Impact Perspectives. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Iannacone, L., & Lutz, F. W. (1970). Politics, Power and

Policy: The Governing of Local School Districts. Columbus, OH: Merrill Publishing.

Key, V. O. (1955). A Theory of Critical Elections. Journal of Politics, 17, 3-18.

Kirkendall, R. W. (1966). Discriminating Social, Economic and Political Characteristics of Changing Versus Stable Policy Making Systems in School Districts. Unpublished doctoral dissertaition, Claremont Graduate School.

Lutz, F. W., & Iannaconne, L. (Eds.). (1978). Public Participation in Local School Districts. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company.

McElfresh, P. (1984). Scottsdale: Jewel in the Desert. Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc.

Minar, D. W. (1966). The Community Basis of Conflict in School System Politics. American Social Review, 31, 822-835

Mitchell, D. E., & Thorsted, R. R. Incumbent School Board Member Defeat Considered: New Evidence for its Political Meaning. Educational Administration Quarterly, 12, 31-48.

Schattschneider, E. E. (1960). The Semi-Sovereign People. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Scottsdale Progress, September, 1948 - December, 1986.

Scottsdale Unified School District #48, Scottsdale, AZ, school board minutes, 1919-1986.

Scottsdale Unified School District #48. (1984). Citizens for Effective Schools: Issues and Strategies to Ensure

Effective Schools. Scottsdale, AZ: Citizens for Effective Schools Committee.

Scottsdale Unified School District #48. (1984). Educational Program Standards. Scottsdale, AZ: Superintendent's Leadership Council.

Scottsdale Unified School District #48. (1985). Educational Program Standards, 1984-1985. Scottsdale, AZ: Superintendent's Leadership Council.

Scottsdale Unified School District #48. (1985). Facility Master Plan, 1955-1995. Scottsdale, AZ: Superintendent and Citizens' Advisory Committee.

Tucker, H. J., & Zeigler, H. J. (1980). Professionals in the Public: Attitudes, Communications, and Response in School Districts. New York: Longman Inc.

Walden, J. C. (1967). School Board Changes and Superintendent Turnover. Administrators Notebook #5.

Wirt, F. M. & Kirst, M. W. (1972). The Political Web of American Schools. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Zeigler, H. L. Jennings, M. K. & Peak, W. G. (1974). Governing American Schools: Political interaction in local school districts. North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press.

Zeigler, H. L., Kehoe, E., & Reisman, J. (1985). City Managers and School Superintendents. New York: Praeger Publishers.

FIGURE CAPTIONS

Figure 1 Episodic change model

Figure 2 TPEP I, 1896-1943

Figure 3 TPEP II, 1943-1986

Figure 4 Assessed valuation and student enrollment by year (1923-1945)

Figure 5 Assessed valuation and student enrollment by year (1943-1986)

Figure 1 Episodic change model

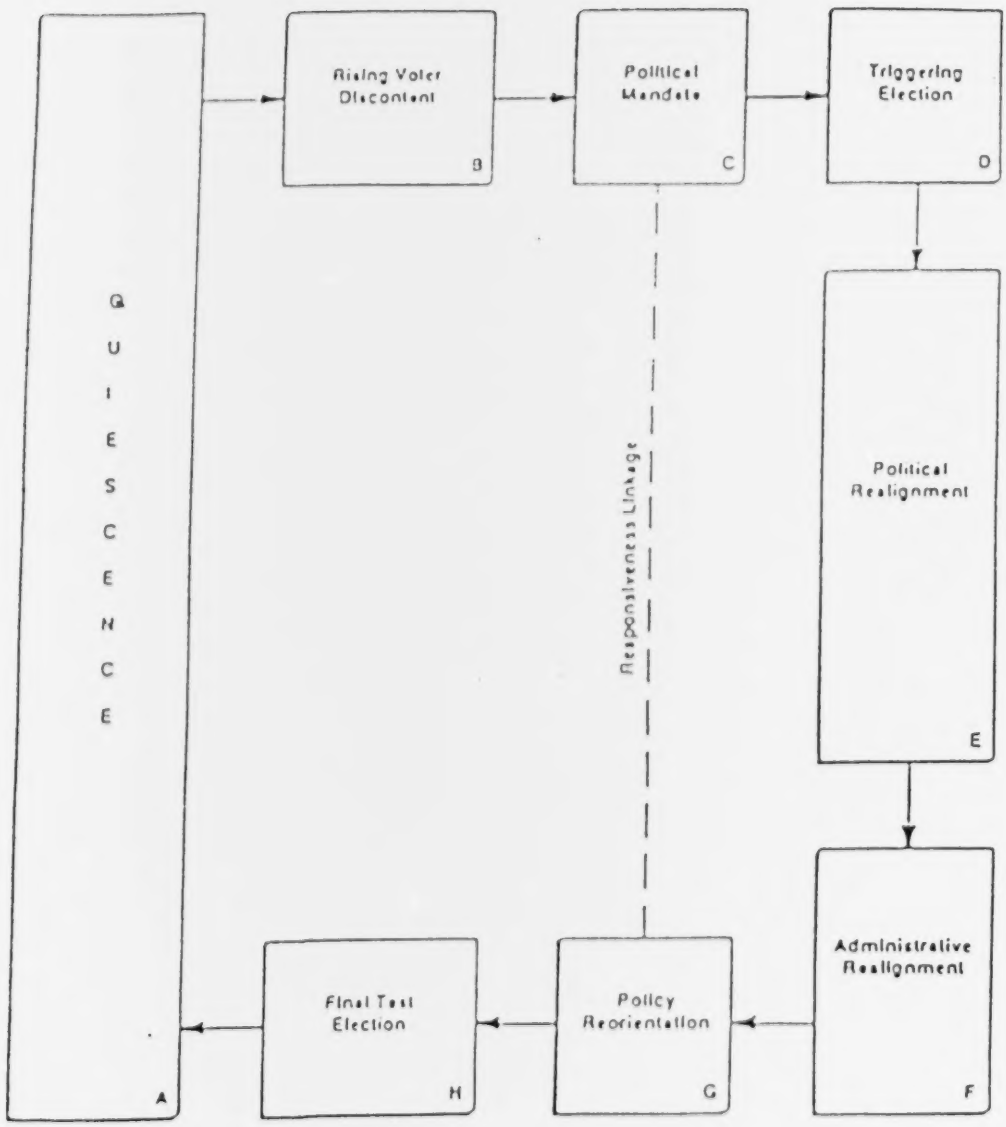

Rising Voter Discontent
B
Political Mandate
C
Triggering Election
D
Political Realignment
E
Administrative Realignment
F
Policy Reorientation
G
Final Test Election
H
QUIESCENCE
A
Responsiveness Linkage

Figure 2 TPEP I, 1896-1943

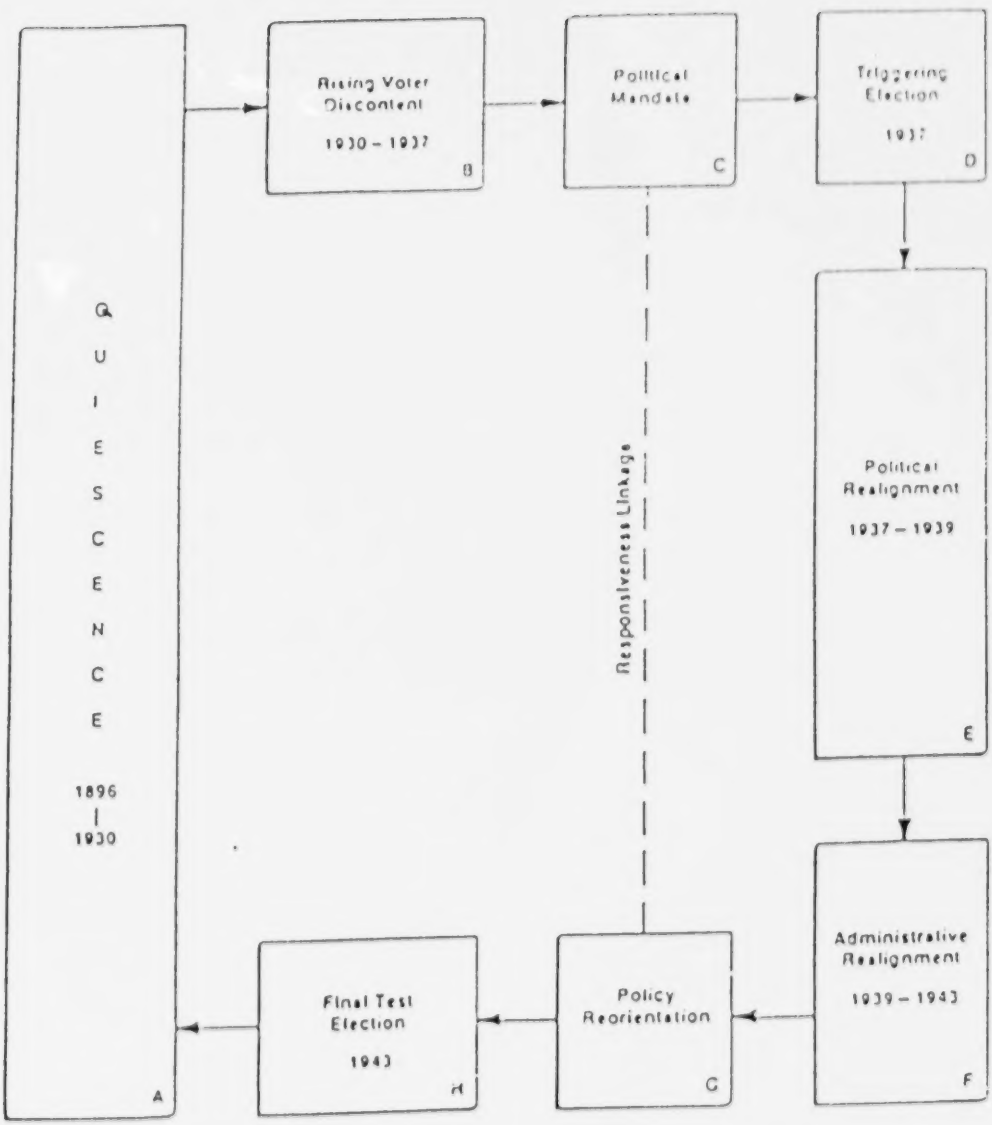

QUIESCENCE
1896
|
1930
A
Rising Voter Discontent
1930 – 1937
B
Political Mandate
C
Triggering Election
1937
D
Political Realignment
1937 – 1939
E
Administrative Realignment
1939 – 1943
F
Policy Reorientation
G
Final Test Election
1943
H
Responsiveness Linkage

Figure 3 TPEP II, 1943-1986

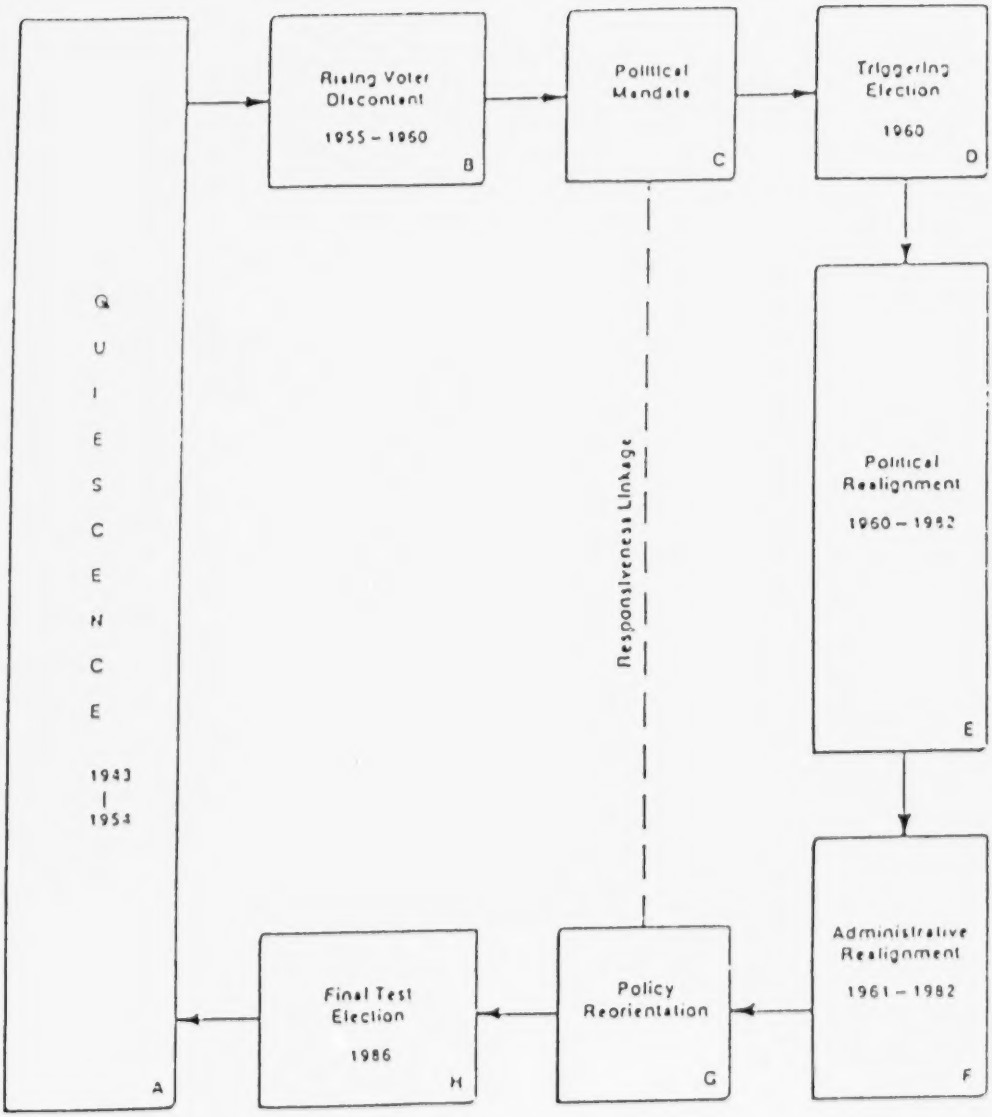

Rising Voter Discontent
1955 – 1960
B
Political Mandate
C
Triggering Election
1960
D
Political Realignment
1960 – 1962
E
Administrative Realignment
1961 – 1962
F
Policy Reorientation
G
Final Test Election
1986
H
QUIESCENCE
1943 | 1954
A
Responsiveness Linkage

Figure 4 Assessed valuation and student enrollment by year (1923-1943)

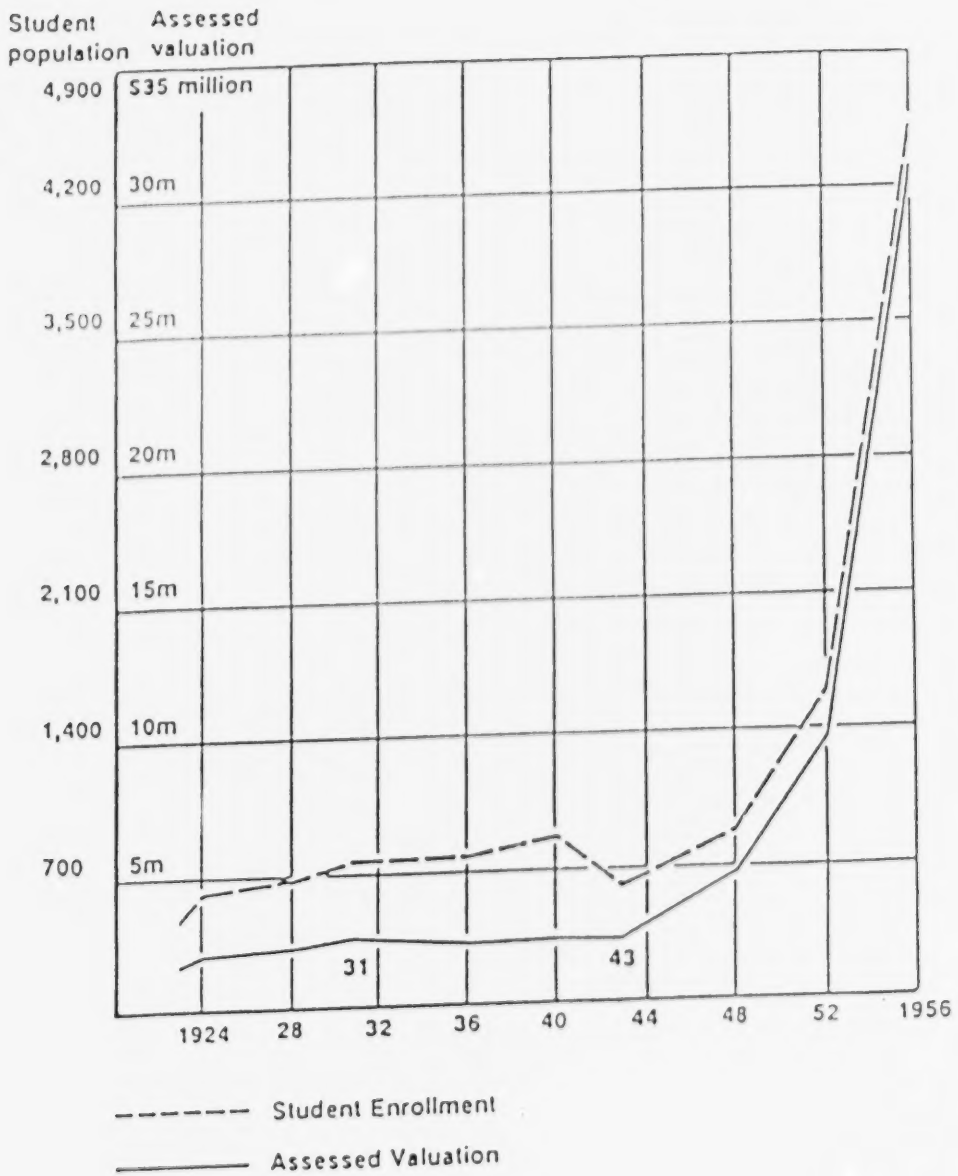
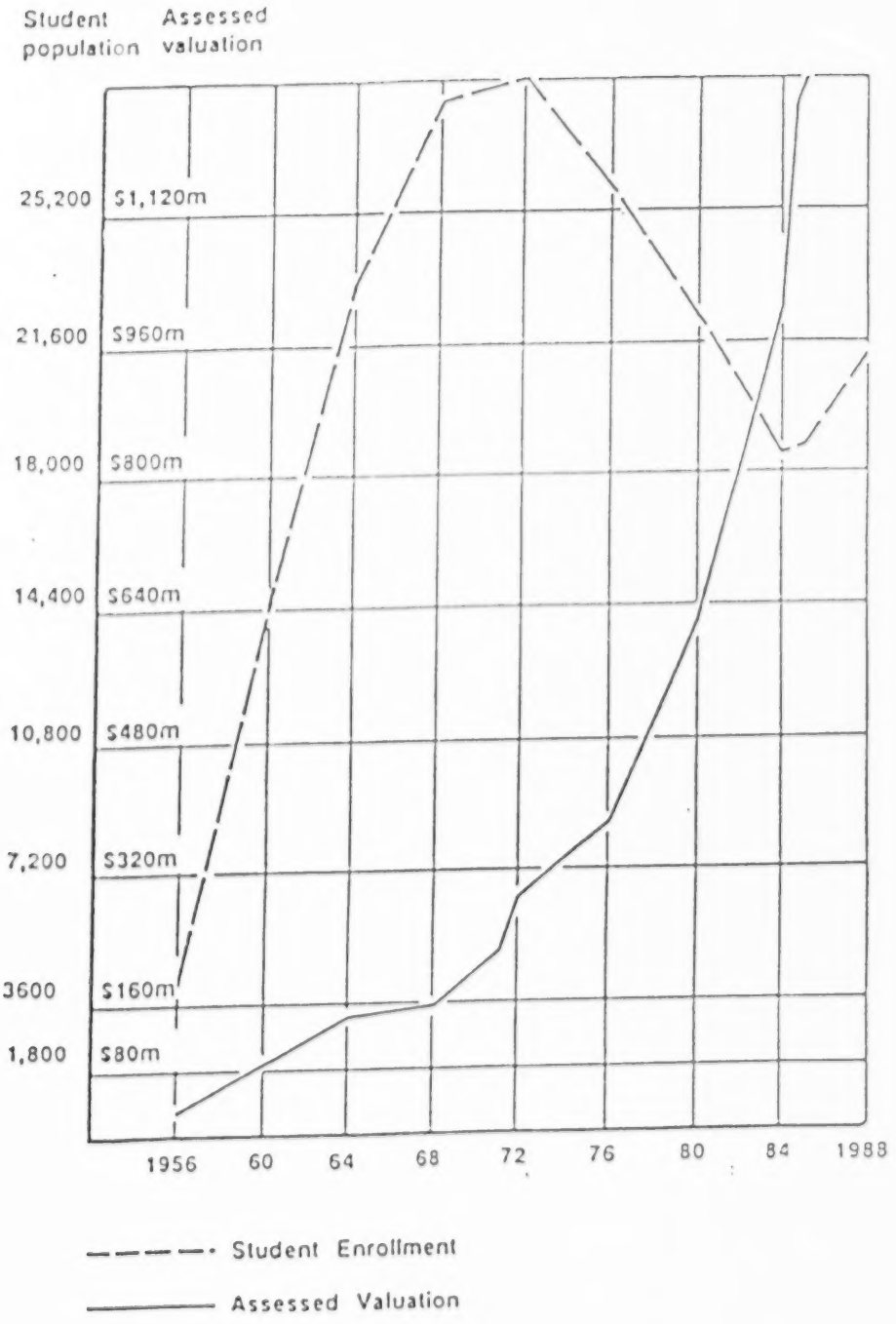

Student population
Assessed valuation
4,900
$35 million
4,200
30m
3,500
25m
2,800
20m
2,100
15m
1,400
10m
700
5m
31
43
1924
28
32
36
40
44
48
52
1956
Student Enrollment
Assessed Valuation

Figure 5 Assessed valuation and student enrollment by year (1943-1986)


Student population
Assessed valuation
25,200
$1,120m
21,600
$960m
18,000
$800m
14,400
$640m
10,800
$480m
7,200
$320m
3600
$160m
1,800
$80m
1956
60
64
68
72
76
80
84
1988
Student Enrollment
Assessed Valuation